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the matrilineal descent group has a distinguished function only when there is common residence and common property.

In Kongton, among 9 different *kur* (List 10), Pohsong and Khonsit accounted for the majority of the population, while the rest, seven *kur*, were more or less of equal size. On the whole the population seemed more stable than that of Sohkynduh. However, as in Sohkynduh, actual descent groups amounted to 41, many of which have the same *kur* name but could not always establish genealogical relationship with one another, nor was there any functional cohesion. I failed to reconstruct the history of the formation of these descent groups: the villagers had no memory of their past except very fragmentary information which was quite insufficient to account for their present composition. They only insisted this was a very old village in comparison with Sohkynduh and other neighbouring villages.

While I was struggling with the villagers' scant accounts of their past and fragmented kinship relations among the present households, I was struck by the poorness of the villagers' genealogical memory in comparison with that of the Garo. Suppose A, B and C, who belonged to the same property-holding descent group three generations back: A and B being sisters and C being B's daughter. If B, including her descendants, moved away from the village two generations back, the present generation of A's and C's descendants would easily lose contact and knowledge of their genealogical relationship. This fact, on the other hand, illustrates some important aspects of the Khasi social structure: the kinship relation—matrilineal descent link—is not a significant factor beyond the scale of the household (property-holding descent group), and locality is more important than matrilineal descent for the formation of the Khasi community. Through the predominant practice of endogamy on the level of the village, the small segments (found on a level of a household or a group of a few households) of various different *kur* clustered in a village are linked by affinal relations each other, by which altogether form a well knit social organization of a village community. The cohesion and solidarity of the Khasi village community is strengthened by the local endogamy not by the localized lineage organization.

In fact, in contrast with the rather loose kinship relations which link different households, the affinal relations link almost every households in the village, as shown in Fig. 10. The lines, ———, indicate marriage relations between living members of households, and the lines, - - - - -, indicate affinal relations established through dead members of present households or through spouses' kinship relations at Sohkynduh, as in November 1955. In this way, except for one household (24), members of a single household are all linked together through affinal or cognatic ties. In some cases, the affinal relations between

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society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is clearly related to the structure of the *ïing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with the Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *ïing*. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, *he* would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

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household are easily understandable in the light of the economic aspect of the fission of the *iing*. As I stated before, the non-heiress is given hardly any share of the property of her natal *iing* on her marriage (if the *iing* is rich a non-heiress and the sons may receive some part), and even if her new household happens to face serious economic difficulty, her natal *iing*, whose authority is vested in her brother, does not usually help her. This fact clearly suggests that brothers can have only limited rights over the elder sister's *iing*.

This is the crucial point of the Khasi matrilineal system. The *iing* is a very restricted descent group, giving opportunities to split off by those who have no right to inheritance. The *iing* has vertical continuity without expansion in collateral lines. Therefore, even the siblings of the same mother do not always form a completely constant unit of a functional descent group, since the elder sisters are oriented by their marriages to form a new *iing*, though they may retain their membership in their natal *iing*. The central core of the *iing* is the particular sibling bond between a sister (the heiress) and a brother (the authority), a pair of statuses. Other sisters are ready to leave and other brothers are fluid members, clearly differentiated in status from that particular brother (authority) and sister (heiress). This structural principle should be compared with other matrilineal descent groups, whose sibling group is based on interdependence between members of a group, not between particular persons or statuses. The structural unit of the Khasi social organization, is *not* the descent group based on sibling links, but the *iing*, though descent is the principal factor, and the limiting one, in the formation of the *iing* institution. The descent factor is delineated by the functional force of the inheritance rule through female ultimogeniture, which results in constant internal fission and segmentation in the descent group. Technically, it is very similar to the process of fission of the Garo *mok* on the ultogeniture principle, though the internal structure is different.

The establishment of a new household by a Khasi woman with her husband, means the beginning of the establishment of a new *iing*, separated from her natal *iing* not only in residence but also sociologically. In other words, it is the process of fission and segmentation of an *iing*, matrilineal descent group. Therefore, a woman who has once established a new household independent of her natal household, will not go back to her natal house i.e. her mother's descent group, though her bond with her mother's descent group remains undiminished. Of course she may visit her natal *iing* occasionally, but in fact, much less than her husband will visit his natal *iing*. In this respect as well the Khasi manifest structural differences from the Ashanti as described by Fortes, where a mother goes back to her own matricentral household and often prefers to reside there (Fortes, 1949, p. 77).

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182 586 613 736 Even after divorce or husband's death the Khasi woman stays on in her household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *sing*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *sing* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women widows or divorcées, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

182 184 586 593 613 Given such strong residential independence on the part of the non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's economic and social contribution is undeniably rewarded by the establishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is most likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *sing*. Therefore, when each partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *sing*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *sing*. And a new *sing* is always established by a husband's contribution.

182 184 581 Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantu, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 124).

182 184 587 593 613 736 In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the husband usually returns to his *sing*, i.e. younger sister's house. But in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

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brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc.

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or sister's) house, *iing (ha iing ane)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes idly consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jaitiaga, where the main economic activities were based on trading.

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more matters where the scale of economic activity

A man of Jaitiaga, who worked in a shop in Shillong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*.

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

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Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *sing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *sing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *sing*, though this presence is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, as *sing* are. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximized especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *sing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *sing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriage, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "It is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jaitinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

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which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was preferred among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *mokam*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of such polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongton came from neighbouring villages.

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam.

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-kinsman. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised: it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongton.

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• 182 595 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi polygyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no ways affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including [949] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social dis- [951] advantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his whim. Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and neglect of wife and children. Some of them told me that their earnings, their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister, leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband!" then comes divorce . . .

182 562 595 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

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any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. Moreover, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

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I

The discussion of Parts I and II reveals that the social structure of the Garo and the Khasi differ greatly. Similarity is found only at the level of the minimum criteria of matrilineal systems: the basic succession rules of mother-daughter, mother's brother-sister's son, and the fact that property is owned by the women, but the controlling power and authority over it are in the hands of the men.

One of the most outstanding structural differences between the two lies in the composition of a property group: the property group of the Khasi is formed by a descent group at a shallow generation depth, while that of the Garo is maintained by the cooperation of two local lines, each of which represents a localized lineage group. Hence the descent group of the former tends to have stronger solidarity, whereas the latter tends to be weakened in its solidarity.

In a broad framework, in terms of social organization, the Garo fall structurally into a category based on the marry arrangement, in which patrilineal systems, such as the Murngin, and the Kariera, etc., are also to be found. Theoretically, this type of mechanism is operative in either matrilineal or patrilineal systems: by the exchange of men in the former and the exchange of women in the latter.

On the other hand, the Khasi system presents more outstanding features of a type which is generally accepted as belonging to matrilineal systems. However, the basic structural traits of this system may also be found among patrilineal systems, in terms of relatively stronger descent group solidarity.

FIG. 10. — *Succession Lines of Female and Male in the Matrilineal System.*

Lines *A* and *B* may include sister-sister, and brother-brother relation respectively, also members of classificatory category; variations in these minor points depend on each matrilineal system.

Though both matrilineal and patrilineal systems may share such basic structural categories, they differ significantly in the following respects: in matrilineal systems, the ownership of property and the authority over the property group never rest in one person, as in the case of the father/husband of the patrilineal systems, and the succession to these two offices follows the female line (mother-daughter) and the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) as shown in line *A* and line *B* in Fig. 10. This duality of office-holding individuals within the succession rule is the intrinsic cause

of complications and variations in matrilineal systems. The matrilineal system is not a mirror of the patrilineal system; it is a different system in which more complicated mechanisms are involved. This complexity of the matrilineal system is a decided handicap when it comes to meeting radical economic changes. In order to preserve the system, a fairly stable economy is required, well-balanced in its population and resources. This may be one of the reasons for the rapid disintegration or unstability of social organization of matrilineal peoples in the world.

The difficulty of preserving in function both lines *A* and *B* is caused by residential problems—individual marriages which contradict the sibling cohesion. According to my theoretical analysis, there are four alternative ways of resolving such contradictory factors, each case being represented by actual ethnographic samples.[1] Each arrangement represents a different degree of the function of the two lines *A* and *B* in relation to the residential pattern, as following (see Fig. 13):

● A [illegible]
○ B [illegible]
[illegible]

FIG. 13. — *Central Case of Matrilineages in Relation to Property Groups and Residential Groups.*

The Lore case. The co-residential type is 'husband-with' instead of 'brother-sister.' The functions of both lines *A* and *B* is equally strong. This is kept by the marriage contract between two local lines, so that it is possible to keep the functions of each line against the residential separation of the two lines in one descent group. This type is found at the moment only among the Lore.

1. For this discussion I take only such major matrilineal complex for which ample documentation is available.

The Nayar type. The counter scheme of the Garo type, the co-residential type is 'brother-sister' instead of 'husband-wife'. The function of both line *A* and *B* is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Mosophalous matrilineal people.

The Khasi type. The ideal co-residential type consists of a woman with either her husband or her brother. The function of line *A* is much stronger than that of line *B*. This type is found among the Khasi, the Naga, the Lushai, the Toradjas, the Negri Sembilan Malays, the Yao, etc.

The Ashanti type. The ideal co-residential type consists of a man with either his wife or his sister. The function of line *B* is much stronger than that of line *A*. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Cewanda Tonga, the Bayonda, the Trobriands, the Nayar of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines *A* and *B*, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different residential arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines *A* and *B* of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

If, leaving aside the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears again different from the rest in so far as it is, both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal system.[1] In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized: the role of a spouse is only to ensure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount locus in her (his) descent line. The descent group manifests the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system, and, in the patrilineal system, in a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group,—she has no social and personal independent locus in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme scheme of highly institutionalized unilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the systems of the equity

1. Freire touches this point in his paper (Freire, 1939, p. 108).

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arrangement, such as the Garo and the Mundas, where both wife and husband keep important social positions as representatives of each descent group.

Leaving the Garo and the Nayar types, the following discussion deals with the implications of the difference between the Khasi type and the Ashanti type. The degree of function of the two lines *A* and *B*, is related to the residential arrangement. A household of the Khasi type includes the matrilineage women and either their husbands or brothers—brother's wives are excluded as a rule. A household of the Ashanti type includes the matrilineage men and either their wives or sisters—sister's husbands are excluded as a rule. Among the Khasi as I have already explained (p. 127), a woman and her brother's wife are never found as members of a common household, while among the Ashanti, as Fortes states, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household. In the former, since a woman is the centre of the matrilineage, her husband stands socially closer to her matrilineage than she does to his—the husband shares the matrilineage dwelling, while a man being a peripheral member, his wife is excluded as a rule from his matrilineage residence (hence predominantly matrilocal); the Ashanti type exemplifies exactly the opposite case (predominantly virilocal or avunculocal).

The crucial point at which lies the difference between the Khasi and Ashanti types is the rule of inheritance. In matrilineal systems, as a rule, the ancestral property is inherited by the matrilineal descent group. The starting point of the difference is really in the ways of inheritance of the acquired property particularly by the husband. So long as a man remains with his matrilineage members, both types show no difference. The crucial difference appears in the married life. In the Khasi type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property during his matrimonial life automatically belong to and are inherited by his wife and children. On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property belong as a rule to him and are inherited by his matrilineal group, not by his wife and children. In case of divorce or death of a spouse, the difference between the Khasi and the Ashanti types appears most clearly: in the former, it is the husband who leaves, and in the latter it is the wife and children who leave. Hence the residence pattern reflects

1) Among the Tiv-Jukun group, which I classify into the Khasi type, a male brother who is married to the position inherited of a second family takes his wife with him. This optional marriage should be considered as an exception based upon special circumstances. Such special arrangement can also be found among the Nayar where matrilocal arrangement is general rule.

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Garo AR5

these rules, as the Khasi type tends to a matrilocal arrangement, while the Ashanti type tends to a virilocal or avunculocal arrangement.[1]

In the Khasi type, the residential arrangement is the decisive factor for a man's economic achievement. The men, though they keep close social and ritual ties with their matrilineage, are divorced economically from their matrilineal descent group.[2] On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, where the matrilineal rule is the decisive factor, men keep strong social, ritual and economic ties with their descent group at the expense of the women's and children's residential mobility. However, these women are not like men of the Khasi type; as among the Ashanti, women mostly go back to their matrilineage at a late stage of their married life. In the case of the Todas, the wife stays all her married life at her husband's house while her sons go back to his matrilineage, and her daughters leave for their husbands' house at their marriage. This can be considered as the exact opposite of what happens in the Khasi type. The matrilineage represented by men keeps its function and solidarity at the expense of the women. There, the female line (mother-daughter) is broken, in practice, by the residential arrangement, as was broken the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) in the Khasi type. The actual tie of the Toda husband with to her matrilineage is maintained through the presents her brothers send her, not through mother, sister or daughter. That of the Khasi husband is maintained through his youngest sister or niece, not through his brother or nephew. Thus Todaland wives and Khasi husbands are marginal members of the matrilineage. These facts show that they sacrifice either the male (*B*) or the female (*A*) line to the co-habitation of wife and husband. Unless they have a structural arrangement like that of the Garo, the co-residence of the married couple is the crucial factor which mobilizes the matrilineal system.

The Ashanti manifest great mobility in this respect, since they do not like to sacrifice either line *A* or *B*, though actually line *A* is much weaker than *B*. The mother wishes to be with her daughter and son, while the mother's brother wishes to be with his sister's son, yet they do wish to have co-habitations in their marriage—combining theoretically opposed factors. This is also the case which I found among the Nayar in the transitional stage of the disintegra-

1. These arguments do not mean that all members of a society act in the same way. In any society, considerable variations in residential pattern are found in individual cases. What is important here is the model, and the orientation of views of the people, the content of which is mostly followed by the majority of the people in a given society, at a given time.

2. Among the Khasi, though the solidarity of the clan may keep the account and manage its sister's property, the acquired property through the wife's land or her independent economic activity ordinarily go to her wife and children.

(3) Nakano E-5 (1905-1906) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
Garo AR5

tem of the matrilineal system (see Nakano, 1967b and 1969). In comparison with the Ashanti, the Khasi or the Trobriand type gain considerable stability by sacrificing either A or B line, which is one of the possible ways of preserving the matrilineal system along with the practice of co-habitation of the married couple.

Another solution of the conflicting situation in such a society is the practice of cross-cousin marriage, as in the case of the Ashanti, which brings two conflicting factors together, the matrilineage and the family of procreation. In this case, the cross-cousin marriage tends to take place between the first cross-cousins centred around each man. Fortes states, "Cross-cousin marriage must often occur between the children of full siblings or of uterine first cousins . . . cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental, and matrilineal kinship ties" (1950, p. 262). This is quite different from the cross-cousin marriage of the Garo, because among the latter, the cross-cousin marriage being practised on the basis of the whole structure of society, it makes no difference whether a cross-cousin is first or classificatory. In the case of the Ashanti and other matrilineal systems of a similar type, such as the Bayumbe and the Kongo, it is considered most desirable to enter into a first cross-cousin marriage; classificatory cross-cousin marriage, such as among the Garo, does not make much sense. Moreover, the cases of cross-cousin marriage tend to take place among comparatively wealthy members in a society (see Buttrey, 1967, Chapter X.XIX). If one has no property in the Ashanti type society, then cross-cousin marriage has not much meaning.

The cross-cousin marriage of matrilineal systems has been often referred to as being the solution to the conflicting situations of a man as a husband and as a brother. I suggest here that this can be applied to the matrilineal system of the Ashanti type, not to those of the Khasi type where men have already given up the role of forming the central core of the matrilineage. In these societies, the solution is already given through the sacrifice of one line. There are no conflicting economic factors, though men are still in a situation of social conflict between their matrilineage and family of procreation. This hypothesis is confirmed empirically by the fact that there are no prescribed or preferential cross-cousin marriages among the Khasi, the Naga, the Zuni, the Trobriand and the Nagar Brahmin Hales,[1] where a man is not in economic conflict with his matrilineage and family of procreation. His explorers are already outside his economic

1. "In arranging marriages the preference is for someone 'near'. As cross-cousins are the nearest possible outside a large number of them marriages occur. . . . The preference, however, is not explicitly mentioned . . ." (Hale, 1967, p. 136).

19: Nigeria E-5 (1953-1954) 1967 AR? Khasi AR? ●
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groups due to matrilocal marriage, they have no right over his residence and his acquired property. Naturally the maternal uncle becomes far less important than in the Ashanti type.

Among the Tiv, which I classified as belonging to the Khasi type, Mitchell states that in spite of the emphasis laid on cross-cousin marriage by his informants, real or classificatory cross-cousins are found in only 13 per cent of 103 first marriages (Mitchell, 1956, p. 200). The functional importance of cross-cousin marriage among the Tiv is particularly evident in the minority (headmen of villages or lineages) who practise matrilocal marriage[1] in a society where a matrilocal arrangement is the general rule; as in the case of the Ashanti, cross-cousin marriage functions as a solution to two conflicting tendencies: matrilocality and virilocality. The Todzialands, though they belong to the Ashanti type, demonstrate the same structural analogy to the Khasi type, though in reverse. Among Todzialand commoners there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage. The much discussed cross-cousin marriage of the Todzialand aristocrats should be considered as the exception, as has already been examined by Leach (1956, p. 139). In this regard the Tiv and the Todzialands produce a picture somewhat similar to the Ashanti type, among the majority of society, though the general practice bears similar features with that of the Khasi type.

It has become clear that cross-cousin marriage is closely related to the type of residence, i.e. virilocality, combined with economic factors. Furthermore, the cross-cousin marriage signifies the political importance of the maternal uncle as lineage head. Thus the Khasi type and the Ashanti type represent alternative arrangements to the different forms of the core of the functional body, the matrilineal descent group.

III

The preceding section has made clear different types of matrilineal systems so far as the internal structure of the descent group is concerned. This section deals with the relation of the descent group to the external organization.

Both the Garo and the Khasi follow a unilineal system, but they do not have what is called "segmentary lineage" organization, which has been much discussed in the African field. As generally understood,

1. Ordinarily among the Tiv-Jukun group, a cross-cousin marriage is likely to be found between a daughter of a local leader of a descent group and his sister's son (Ashanti type, p. 111). Mitchell states that Tiv cross-cousin marriage is one of the solutions for the conflict between the principle of matrilocal marriage and the principle of male leadership of the lineage (Mitchell, 1956, p. 144).

19: Nakao E-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR? Khasi AR? •
Garo AR5

lineage is a corporate unilineal descent group of which the members can establish demonstrable genealogical relationships to each other. According to Firth, "lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually covering the entire society" (1957, p. 4). The Garo and the Khasi can thus be said to have the lineage, but to lack its segmentary organization which normally is found in a unilineal society. Both social structures exemplify the importance of the residence as a functional unit, against the wider descent group which may be called the lineage group.

In the case of the Garo, the localized lineage is expressed in terms of the village (or group of villages) whose land bears the name of the localized lineage. However, it is the village which acts as the functional corporate body, the economic and ritual unit, not the group of members of the localized lineage. The village theoretically consists of the members of the two localized lineages, as represented in the headman and his wife respectively. Practically, though it bears the name of a particular lineage to which the wife of the headman belongs, as also usually the majority of the inhabitants, it includes many other lineage members as well as the traditional two lineages. Therefore, the lineage is not, in this case, an exclusive corporate unit with a ritual and economic function, though it gives a theoretical framework to the structure.

In the case of the Khasi, the lineage is found only as a household group, centred in the woman, the property owner with members having direct matrilineal kinship ties to the former, such as her brothers, sister sisters, sons and daughters, who may or may not reside in the same household—the members of the ing. Beyond this unit (the ing) one can hardly find any functional organization based on the descent system. In other words, the lineage becomes a functional unit only at the level of the household, e.g., the lowest level of segmentation of the descent group, and it lacks wider external organization by the same principle. The clan is considered rather as a ritual conception implying exogamy, not as an organized body of kin.

These phenomena contrast sharply with the Hopi and the Ashanti social organization, where lineage organization has crucial importance rather than on a household level. Many factors can be considered in this connection. First of all, the locus of property and economic unit are the most distinctive factors. Among the Khasi, property and economic units are always found in an ing, represented by the youngest daughter's household, while that of the Hopi and the Ashanti are in a wider lineage organization in which members of many households are usually included. The Zuni pattern seems also similar to that of the Khasi. The difference between the Khasi and Zuni lies

13: Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 ART Khasi ART
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to the rule of inheritance, the former follows uxipaiture (ultimogeniture), while the latter does not. Therefore, the number of members of a Zuni household is naturally larger than that of the Khasi.[1] Against the average number of a Khasi household, four to five, that of the Zuni is seven and a half to eight persons (Kroeber, 1917, p. 164). Among the Khasi, sisters separate through marriage in every generation, leaving the youngest in their natal home, while Zuni sisters may stay together even after their marriages. Kroeber states:

> "The house belongs to the women born of the family. They come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die. . . . Now and then a new dwelling may be built by all the inmates, or for a girl of the house by an enterprising husband; but in general the same walls, or rooms[1] new on the same spot (ibid., pp. 47-48). . . . It is true that a Zuni 'house' often contains what we should regard as two or three households, but as long as it includes only one used hearth, and all natives insist that the two or three households are a single one" (ibid., p. 164).

The internal composition of the household may differ from that of the Khasi, but the household in terms of the important institutionalized unit, is very similar to the Khasi. Li An-che states that "characteristics of a joint household based on the kinship principle stand out very strikingly" (Li, 1937, p. 73). Eggan's statement brings Zuni social organization much closer to the issue. He writes, "In terms of Kroeber's table it would seem that the Zuni tend to equate a lineage with a household, except in cases of recent expansion or budding off" (Eggan, 1950, p. 184). He gives a further illuminating analysis of this point:

> "We have noted that the lineage principle . . . also provides a mechanism for the inheritance of ceremonial duties and obligations and the transmission and preservation of fetishes and other ceremonial paraphernalia. In Zuni the inheritance is phrased in terms of the household, but it is clear that it is the lineage segment born into the household that is important. This lineage segment, or at least the female line thereof, also owns land and holds it in trust for succeeding generations, to be worked by the men who marry into the household" (ibid., p. 187).

Another similar equation of lineage and household, comparable to that of the Khasi and the Zuni, is found among the Trobriand. According to Goodenough (1957):

[1] This involves not only the difference of the number of members in a household but also the relation between the members of a descent group. As already discussed, the core of the descent group among the Khasi is the pair of siblings: the owner of the property (the youngest sister) and the authority (a brother), not the sibling group altogether (see p. 191 as happens in other matrilineal systems appearing in this discussion. In regard to the uxipaiture succession itself, the Garo share the same system as the Khasi, though it appears to operate differently by reason of the structural difference of organization.

19: Nakane K-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

"In aboriginal times they used to be associated with most lineages a dwelling house, *jiuw* (p. 91) . . . *jiuw* is the corporate property of the lineage or descent line whose women live in it, but it is normally built by their husbands" (p. 98).

Here, it is clear that a household provides the major locus of a lineage. In other words, a lineage is a corporate property group with a common residence. This is also the case of the Nayar *tarwad* and the Minangkabau *payuo*, though in these cases the household excludes the spouses of its members, while with the Khasi, the Zuni, and the Trukese the spouses (in most cases, the husbands) share the residence.

Though they may differ in scale and size from one society to another, as well as from one household to another, the functional lineage founded upon residence has thus a similar range in all of these systems. For convenience sake, I tentatively term this type of lineage "household-lineage,"[1] as opposed to that of the Hopi and the Ashanti, which might be termed "segmentary-lineage."

The average number of Khasi and Garo household members is four to five, that of the Zuni seven and a half to eight as stated above, the Trukese is eighteen (three to thirty-four in Romonum Island, according to Goodenough), while the Nayar range from thirty to two hundred. These differences, I think, mostly depend on the economic (and environmental) situation; they should not be regarded as structural, except for the Garo and the Khasi, which, because of the uxorilocal rule, have smaller and fairly uniform households. The wide range of variation in composition which we observe among the Trukese and the Nayar is due in reality to economic and environmental factors: the more favorable the circumstances, the larger the unit.

The co-residential group and the property unit do not always necessarily correspond. One property group may consist of more than two independent residences. But even in such cases, the lineage is likely to be found in a group which formed a co-residential unit in the recent past, and which should be considered as marginal cases, derived from the recent fission of a group—it is a lineage in process of fission not a constant kin-group based on wider organization such as we find among the Ashanti and the Hopi. Usually such a lineage ceases to function shortly after it loses its common property, which usually follows closely upon the fission of the residential unit. Thus, in the course of time a once-recognized lineage group disappears into the common sea of the clan, which represents only a ritual and exogamous unit. In some cases, even this clan loses its function, as happens among the Nayar and the Minangkabau, where the lineage which

1. It should be noted that it does not mean that the lineage consists of household members, but that the lineage solidarity is found around the range of a household scale.

15: Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR? Garo AR5

corresponds (or corresponded in the near past) to the co-residential property-group itself becomes an exogamic unit, disregarding the wider unit of the clan. Structurally it can be said that in these societies a lineage cannot exercise its full function unless it has a common residence based on a property unit.

In contrast to these societies, I cannot help but think that the Ashanti and the Hopi belong to a different type. Both Fortes and Eggan lay great emphasis on the descent principle, based on the ethnographic data of the Ashanti and of the Hopi respectively. The best examples of statements concerning this issue are the accounts in which both stress their disagreement with Kroeber's argument of 1938 in favour of the priority of local residence relationships over those of descent, under the title of "Basic and secondary patterns of social structure."[3]

Fortes states:

"A lineage cannot easily act as a corporate group if its members can never get together for the conduct of their affairs. It is not surprising therefore to find that the lineage in African societies is generally locally anchored, but it is not necessarily territorially compact or exclusive. A compact residence may be enough to act as the local centre for a group that is widely dispersed. I think it would be agreed that lineage and locality are independently variable and how they interact depends on other factors in the social structure. As I interpret the evidence, local ties are of secondary significance, pace Kroeber, for local ties do not appear to give rise to structural bonds in and of themselves. There must be common political or kinship or economic or ritual interests for structural bonds to emerge. Again spatial dispersion does not immediately put an end to lineage ties or to the corporate ties one found in exogamic systems like that of the Lodi. For legal status, property, office and cult are exceptionally effective devices for holding dispersed lineages together and sentiment kindred" (Fortes, 1953, p. 31).

Eggan states:

"For the Hopi the kinship structure is centered primarily around the lineage; the household relationships are secondary (Eggan, 1950, p. 113).

"Furthermore, it is the lineage and clan, rather than the household group, which is invested with lands and ceremonies and which is considered to own the house itself. Important as are the ties of residence and subsistence associations, they are not the key groupings in Hopi organization—or in terms of our interpretation.

"Kroeber explicitly leaves kinship out of account in his analysis of 'basic and secondary patterns of social structure,' but to a man kinship is more fundamental than either patterns of residence or formal grouping. Our analysis of Hopi kinship has suggested that both the household and the lineage organizations are encompassed in the kinship system. And it is clear that the kinship system is organized in terms of the lineage principle rather than in terms of residence" (*ibid.*, p. 133).

These arguments seem to me to refer more to a difference of social organization than to a theoretical contrast. On the basis of my own

19: Nakane E-5 (1953-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR? •
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field work as well as on the accounts of various matrilineal systems, I feel strongly that there must be different types of systems which may be distinguished as "household-lineage" and "segmentary-lineage". Fortes and Eggan postulate the pre-eminence of the descent principle over residence. Though this may be the case among the Ashanti and the Hopi, it does not fit the cases belonging to what I call "household-lineage" type. Firth's argument emphasizing the importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality, fits very well with the latter case. With more precision and subtlety than Kroeber, he argues that "residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence" (Firth 1957, p. 7).

I believe there are crucial differences between these household-lineage type and segmentary-lineage type organizations. The technical process of fission into segments is similar in both types. But in the latter, once a segmented group attains autonomy, the relation between the segments will easily be forgotten after a few generations, so it has no significance social implication. Among these societies, people's genealogical memory outside the residential group is surprisingly poor. This empirical fact also suggests a different structure from that of the segmentary system.

In both types of society the internal organization of a household is the same, but it differs externally. Eggan states that "Kroeber's and Parsons' statements about the lack of system in regard to Zuni kinship indicate judgement from some arbitrary standard" and adds "The concept of the lineage provides a bridge between the household and the clan" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 137). I cannot agree with this. In fact, my study of the Garo, the Khasi and the Nayar corresponds very well to the Zuni situation described by Kroeber and Parsons. There are matrilineal systems which lack a bridge between the household and the clan.

Then what is it that makes the difference between the two types of organization in similar matrilineal systems? I am not sure that I can produce at present effective hypotheses on this issue. However, empirical facts show that the household-lineage type organization is likely to be found among more complicated societies or in a society with considerable mobility. This we gather also if we compare the village compositions of the Hopi and the Zuni. In the case of the Khasi, we saw that there was considerable mobility in population even in remote villages, so that we easily understand that in such a condition lineage membership hardly maintained itself. This seems to agree with the view put forth by Fortes on segmentary systems. Fortes says the limits of the spread or span of internal segmentation of the

19: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 ART Khasi ART

has a striking resemblance to that of the Hopi as described by Eggan. The lineage, having segmentary structure, performs strong functions as a land ownership and religious unit. However, from Rattray's account, we understand that all grandchildren of matrilineage as well as children through the male line, are called *nana*, a term which is also applied to grandparent's generation. This means that the local classification does not extend beyond the second generation from Ego; such a classification corresponds to the Zuni type, but not to the Hopi type.

Coming back to the discussion of the correlation between the restricted type of kinship terminology and household-lineage, we should consider another important aspect of its bilateral character. In these societies can be observed considerable bilateral tendencies reaching beyond the household-lineage. As I have made clear in the description of the Khasi, the social and economic relationship with outside members of the household are no different towards people who belong to the same descent or clan than towards those who belong to an entirely different kin-group, except as concerns directly related kindred, such as sibling and mother and children. The matrilineal group wider than the *eing* has no exclusive function at all except avoidance of marriage. In this level of organization, there is no retention of the organizing principle of the matrilineal descent system. For instance, households A, B and C are matrilineally related to each other (A is the original and B and C the outcome of the fission of A). Such matrilineal links have no exclusive features that mark them off from other households unrelated through the matrilineal descent line; actual matrilineal links are minimized in their value and function in regard to relations between households. Such characteristics of this kind of organization must be correlated with the existence of an inheritance rule, in which the matrilineal rule is distorted as I mentioned elsewhere (p. 121). If there is no daughter to succeed the *eing*, the son can inherit the acquired property of the *eing*, thus creating by transmission of the property, an entirely new *eing* (of his wife), in which no matrilineal link is established. Likewise in Truk, a son is the potential heir of his father's lineage, and frequency of patrilineal arrangements as alternatives—transmission of the property on the establishment of a new property-conferring group—does not always follow the strict matrilineal line. These facts point to considerable bilateral characteristics outside the household. The relationships among households are not organized upon the matrilineal principle.

Kroeber's emphasis on the bilateral character of the Zuni society should be regarded as important in this respect. [6]

[6] Upon her (Zuni woman) permanent occupancy of the house rests the matrilineal custom of the tribe. But kinship is thoroughly and equally bila-

13: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Such variety in residential arrangements and such flexibility in inheritance rule complicates considerably the composition of the residential unit when a property group (residential domestic unit) grows. Richards gives an interesting illustrative description of the formation of a Bemba residential unit:

"The Bemba bridegroom starts his married life as a stranger in his wife's village, but since his daughters remain with him for some years after marriage he builds up a grand-family composed of his daughters, their husbands, and their children. In some cases he is able to persuade his sons-in-law to remain permanently with him, while in others he is even able to keep his son in his own village. In time some of his sister's sons, with their wives, will choose to come and settle with him, so that he will be head of a group of rather heterogeneous composition" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 107).

Here we find a man's wife's matrilineal kin (his daughters and sons, including the daughters' descendants); his own matrilineal kin (his sisters' sons); and the third matrilineal sets (his sons' wives and his sister's sons' wives). Such a mixed composition of a residential unit may never be found among societies belonging to those types previously discussed; such residential composition would be impossible if the matrilineal principle was functioning strongly in the structure of the actual property group.

Thus, the Bemba type presents an outstanding structural difference from the other types of matrilineal systems in which the matrilineal inheritance rule was the decisive factor for the formation of the residence unit. It is clear that in the Bemba type, both a man and a woman are fairly free from the economic control of his and her matrilineal group, and their relations are somewhat like those of the husband of the Khasi type and the wife of the Ashanti type. Therefore, the conflicts between one's matrilineal group and family of procreation are minimized, particularly in the economic sphere.

This analysis throws much light on the following remarks of Richards bearing on different aspects of the similar formation of descent groups among the Yao and the Bemba.

"The head of a Yao village of the sort (taking his wife to his matrilineage residence) thus has authority over his wife's children and over those of his sisters, but the position of the wife's children seems to be clearly differentiated from that of the sister's children, and Mitchell speaks of a traditional hostility between them. I never saw evidence of such hostility in Bemba villages, which also often contain a man's children and his sister's children" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 109).

This difference should really be ascribed to the structural difference between the Khasi type (the Yao) and the Bemba type. In the former the matrilineal structural force is strongly functioning in the residential group, whereas in the latter it is minimized.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
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Within such a structural framework it is quite understandable that the predominance of virilocal arrangements, coupled with male authority as husband/father, are found. All observers of these societies have noted this feature. Among the plateau Tonga and the Bemba particularly, male authority is outstanding.

"Men are free to move and to form their own homesteads because they acquire rights over their wives which permit them to remove these women from the protection of their kin . . . . As head of the household, the husband occupies a position comparable in many respects to that which falls to men in patrilineal societies" (Colson, 1958, p. 61).

"With the marriage the husband obtains—but only for the probationary period—rights over his wife's labour, the right to control her movements, and rights to her sexually. He is the father of any children born to her, whether or not he begets them . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 100).

"So long as the household contains a married couple, it is theoretically under the authority of the husband. The wife and her children form the house, the *ingenda*, but the husband is known as the *sinjenda*, 'the owner of the house' . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 103).

"Once the young man is admitted to the family he is free to move his wife and children to his own village should he desire to do so" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 103).

"This is a male dominant society and, even though descent is reckoned through the mother, the wife is very much under the control of her husband even while he is an outsider in his wife's village" (*ibid.*, p. 183).

The husband/father's authority was also observed among other matrilineal systems under certain conditions, as already fully discussed in the chapters on the Garo and the Khasi, and more predominantly among societies of the Ashanti type where the residential pattern was virilocal-matrilocal. However, the ambilateral structure on the level of the household composition may give more opportunity to create a husband/father authority of a more stable kind, unhampered by matrilineal force.

Furthermore, individuals are almost free from the descent principle in establishing their residence. Colson states in her account on the Tonga that a man has complete freedom to choose his residence, and residents in a single neighbourhood need not have kinship ties with one another. In the ordinary round of daily life, membership within a neighbourhood may be of more significance than membership within a matrilineal group (Colson, 1958, pp. 27-28). Oliver describes a similar situation:

"The out-marrying women and their children acquire provisional rights in trusts where they reside, and ultimately acquire full title to such lands" (Oliver, 1955, p. 116).

It is clear, in these societies, that there are two sets of groups on different levels: a matrilineal group membership of which is acquired

15: Nakane E-S (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR? *
Garo AR?

devices of the existing system. This does not necessarily imply that such societies have or had the same organization as other matrilineal societies, but I believe this to be an economic and historical product of the existing structure. I do not question the fact that all these societies are subject to a process of change; but it does seem unnecessary to assume that every factor which happens to be missing nowadays, did, in fact, exist in the past.

Summing up the above discussion, the essential structural differences between the Bemba type and other matrilineal systems are found firstly in the internal structure of its property group: "unilateral" contrasting with the "matrilineal" of the Garo, Nayar, Khasi and Ashanti types. Secondly, in the structure of the wider organization of the residential groups: the clear matrilineal principle is found to act in the compositional matrilineal groups. The focus of the matrilineal operation is quite opposite to that of the household-lineage type. In the latter the bilateral features are met with at the wider organizational level. In the Bemba type, in spite of bilateral features in the composition of the residential property group, the rigorous matrilineal group conception is found in the wider organization. Unlike the case of the segmentary-lineage type, this matrilineal group does not have necessarily a direct and actual economic basis. Perhaps the scale of the Bemba society is small enough to maintain the matrilineal social system without a definite economic basis.

In conclusion, such terms as "matrilineal" (unilineal) and "bilateral" are simply convenient labels for the preliminary classification; they should not be used as contrasting criteria for classifying social structure. The unilineal principle (matrilineal system) works differently in each given society, producing as I have observed different structures. Again, *descent* principle and *residence* (with landholdings or property) are equally important criteria for the analysis of social organization. The preeminence of either descent or residence should not be theoretically opposed in the arguments of anthropologists, for different degrees and levels of both factors are involved in each given society.

Finally I should like to note that the five major types of matrilineal systems in relation to the internal structure of the property group, which I presented in this discussion, namely the Garo, the Nayar, the Khasi, the Ashanti and the Bemba types, give theoretical criteria for the analysis. It should not be assumed that all matrilineal systems grouped into the same type possess the same structure, but that each possesses the important basic element of its type. Also a system may change from one type to another through important economic changes or migrations: for instance, from the Nayar type to the Ashanti type, or from the Ashanti type to the Bemba type.

people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 91 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last two years, as in the case of the Ramakrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramakrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the border-line a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Sylhet, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods are now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual. I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion; the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the wife. I think this reflects the structural difference which influences the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the clan, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage

The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Sylhetis is not curtailed by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

- A Khasi woman married to a Garo (cattle-keeper). She lives at Shella Bazaar (Shella).
- A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Dawki in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within Shillong.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities for example, providing an transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

APPENDIX

(Jaintia) 175

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer.

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1.8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 84 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station--about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season.

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Khasis cultivators since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Bihanese immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jaintiya households possessed rice fields.

The economic prosperity of Jaintiya reached its climax during the period from 1939 to 1945. Since 1945, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1947, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jaintiya, as it had Sylhet, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jaintiya is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jaintiya people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus:

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhooming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages.

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice. Their economy is completely dependent on the sale of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other people round Jaintiya, being from cultivation, can at least get rice and various the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jaintiya possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of plain land for rice-cultivation from Jaintiya of neighbouring villages.* However, no yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jaintiya, they might have got more profit than from their own plain fields. For one day's labour, they got Rs. 2/-. For one month, they could earn Rs. 72 with which they could buy about 2 1/2 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 2-8). For one year it became 30 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a plain field by a single person's labour.

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

* Jaintiya villagers told me that Jaintiya Raja were kind enough to lend them their land for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Jaintiya Raja said that they owed much to Jaintiya in the past, so that now they sympathized with the conditions of Jaintiya, and offered some parts of their plain land.

15: Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

• 192 434 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but the majority have been impoverished, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy ones or for road construction. Thus considerable internal economic differentiation has begun to appear in the community.

192 245 648 Though the recent economic depression brought poverty to Jaintia, the standard of living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes. Studying such economic aspects of Jaintia, I wondered at first why these neighbouring tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employment in Jaintia; why, looking at the prosperity of Jaintia, they did not adopt the way of the Jaintia people?

Indeed some of them attempted to imitate the Jaintia economy, but the results were unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange cultivations were entirely new to the tribal people, and the technique was quite different from that of dry rice cultivation in the jhum field. Pan cultivation requires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for people who have been accustomed to the primitive jhuming cultivation. For instance, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put on special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf disease. Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardly keep pan gardens. In this regard the Khasi are entirely different, having specialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On the other hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pan-leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield; it requires considerable capital to begin with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have cash income nor funds, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were able to gain funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the management of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhum field as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for them (who share the community owned the land. Therefore the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among them belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful households. A few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, adopting the technique of the Jaintia people. The was sound right and they were expecting to have the yield around 1970. However, unfortunately, when their oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jaintia and spread all over these areas. Their dreams therefore never came true.

[428] Besides oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, jackfruits, and papayas, which were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started much earlier than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The products were sold to the Jaintia people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. The question arises why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, when the profit would have been much greater.

192 44 648 The aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them. In this case it is the Jaintia people who know both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the cunning merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Shillong bazaar, and without making a profit; it is just the exchange of their handful of jhum produce for an iron

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

spade or some dried fish, etc. Products such as large quantities of fruits should be sold to the Jaintiya people who buy them at reasonable prices.

The Khasi are born traders. This must be closely related with their economic technique, such as pan cultivation which makes it impossible for them to live without trading. Hence, though they are hill people, they have had close economic contact with the peoples of the surrounding plains. At the same time, some of them have had a very similar economy to that of other tribes, such as that of Sohkhymbah and of Kongthor; hence they are familiar with tribal economy. On the whole, their dealings with the tribes as well as with the plains peoples are fair, though they are hard bargainers. Indeed the Khasi are quite welcomed by both sides. Thus the Khasi play an important role as intermediary between the tribes living in the hills and the Hindu (and Muslims) living in the plains.[1]

The economic contact is the most important of the many contacts between Jaintiya and other tribal villages. Social contact, as appeared in intermarriage, is a rather marginal matter for the total population. Cultural contact is negligible. I only observed one infiltration—some fashionable tribal girls sometimes wear Khasi women's dress when they go to the Hadiog bazaar. In their contact with tribes, the Jaintiya Khasi speak Hindi which is the common language at Hadiog bazaar for all tribes and peoples in this area. A few men of Jaintiya speak some tribal language, but none of the tribal speak the Khasi language.

In spite of such great differences in culture, economy and social organization, the relationship between the Jaintiya people and the tribes has remained very friendly. For instance, as I mentioned before (p. 175, note 3), the tribes lent their land to Jaintiya people who were suffering from a great economic depression. Their actual behaviour also reflects such a friendly relationship. It is said that at the time of the Golden Jubilee of Jaintiya in November 1955, many Zemi-Nagas, Kukis, and Cachanes came and performed their dances for the celebration.

1. The important role of the Khasi as intermediary is not only in the economic field, but also in the political and cultural fields: nowadays many Khasi officers are sent to tribal areas by the Government. They are very efficient in dealing with such work, because they are used to deal with both tribal and plain peoples.

[P. 178 is blank]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 107 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

portable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are coalesced into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

17: Banerjee E-5 (1951) 1968 ART Khasi ART
Smith

Then followed the dance of the girls (*U shad I pathot*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptible. The boys were also in their dancing dress as worn by *nongshad* and danced with fly-brush round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music started from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relatives who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

Discussion

From the fore-going description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the secular duties are entrusted to the *Siem*. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the sacredotal work of the house to the youngest daughter. The *Siem's* sister (*Siem Sad*) being the nearest member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of these ceremonies which concerns the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their presence in the *Siem's* residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, chanted of being performed by her (High Priestess), were condemned by the Chief Priest (*Lok bisi*) for which he was allotted a very important position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sacredness of their music. It ought to be played in proper tunes otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due importance at every stage of the festival. The tradition of depositing one pieces of Nongpung clan to sacrifice the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of their ancestors having carried out in olden times the profession of *sida-lawang* (body guard) to the *Siem*. Another person of Kharkamen clan was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the *Siem* after the worship, as his predecessors were said to ancient times during the period of their captivity in the Nara. Such customs were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies.

The most important concern of the people was to maintain their mode of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirits from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. To be recipient of such a favour, they appeased their god U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not sure whether he is considered as one of their deified ancestors but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of red-cock together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones get representation invariably with black animals. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with this hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to cause any harm to their crops or to reduce in any way the fertility of their fields.

It would be interesting to refer here about the presentation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a case of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

magical in such gifts. The Khasi deities being souls of departed members, are anthropomorphic in nature, have all the qualities of an ordinary human being. The worshippers believe that the deities may also have their strength in excess of time which can be augmented only by offering suitable sacrifices. They possess powers of man to transfer to them the supernatural 'power' which are concentrated or lodged in those regions of the sacrificial animal, from where they were taken out. It is a case of reciprocal help between the deity and the devotee so that on acquiring their normal strength, they would fulfil their request.

The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their emotion through their traditional songs. It could not be definitely established whether there were any indication of frightening the evil spirits but on the other hand, there were attempts to cheer the hero, musicians, and the cooperative units taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occasion, were round the altar three times in reaching the top of the hill. The members of the Syiar's house similarly performed a sacred dance round the five pieces of sacrificial hair (Shiar) to the same number of times. This odd number of times seemed to be an auspicious one. The exact cause for such a ceremonial attitude to the figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestress (K.s Lawbei), her husband (K. Thawlang) and her brother, i.e., first maternal uncle (K. Sadbha) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

The dancing is generally taken as secular part of religious function, but the Khasi people considered them (except the last one) as sacred for the reason that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times, ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalize their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstasy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, yet these are interpreted as a device to control the sports engine of an calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with the hope that these would prevent the crowding spirits from spreading diseases. Owing to the location of the dance of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spectators with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official precedence strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officials to dance, at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of dole function. The presence of all the in-charge of the Sordip were essential to ensure the blessings of their deity on behalf of his subjects whom they represent in official capacity in the festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units which is the main aim of the celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from all parts of Shillong were seen witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spectators only in the dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the man going round them, remained as witness of this incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterances (*ring-ring*) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

would not be in a position to direct their attention to the problems of keep
ensemble and other equipment in their life. This is expressed through
rituals which are maintained through tradition and transmitted from generation
to generation. A proper performance of the ritual ensures prosperity.

The maternal uncle occupies a very important position in the social life of
the Khasi community. He acts as a manager of the family and his opinion is
always sought for in any matter of social implications. He is thus honoured
and respected by all the members of the house. In spite of the mentioned
set up of their society, the men are given honourable position in the affairs of
the family. Their role has been given due recognition in their various customs
and rites. The uncle (mother's brother) or else husbands in some exceptional
cases, are always remembered by the living members of the house for their
wisdom and capacity. They are thus invited and are prayed by them to bestow
all possible help to tide over their period of crisis. The Khasi gentlemen to
whom the people in general pay due attention, are considered to have led similar
life as gentlemen in their present society. Thus the various rites and ceremonies
that are observed, expressing ideals (in form, nature and obligations for those
doers, are simply a reflection of the Khasi way of life. The general pattern
of social structure has been found to be prevailed uncompromisingly through their
religious worship and these celebrations are of course of great value to the
local inhabitants as it re-enforces certain natural features as characteristics of
the tribe.

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TABLE [illegible] (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
2. Cultivated area—					
1. No land	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 1 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1 or less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 5 or less than 10 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 10 acres and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

6.6 It is significant that in all the three areas a considerable section of wholly agricultural families and families following agriculture as principal occupation are landless. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the families with agriculture as subsidiary occupation or independent of agriculture had land of various sizes. The fact why agriculture for these families who possessed sufficient land, was reduced to a subsidiary occupation is possibly more due to low returns from agriculture than their attachment to it.

FRAGMENTATION

6.7 It has been observed that a large number of rural families have small holdings, the very smallness of which makes their holdings uneconomic. In addition, the holding of rural families suffer more from the evils of fragmentation. Often holdings are not in compact blocks but are scattered all over and surrounded by lands in possession of others or some uncultivable waste land. Some of the fragments lie even in separate villages.

Unlike in the plains district, fragmentation here was brought about not so much by population pressure (except only in case of wet paddy land) or inheritance legislation as each other (where as would give rise to excessive fragmentation of holdings. This is because there is no settlement regulation and the people are free to reclaim as much of the Raj land as possible for their cultivation. Fragmentation here is thus more a product of the topography of the district, for cultivable land in large compact block is not easy to get and cultivable land have to be found in isolated pockets.

The extent of fragmentation is presented in the following table :

TABLE D-6

Distribution of holdings according to number of fragments

No. of fragments	Dublin area		Provincial towns		Country districts	
	No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
6	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
7	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
10	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
11	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
12	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
13	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
16	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
17	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
18	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
19	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
20	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
21 & above	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
Total ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] The exact number of [illegible] to 697 holding in Kwale of area 0.040 [illegible] giving an average of 0.06 [illegible] per holding. Also in the said holdings in project area is 0.[illegible] which gives us the average 0.06 [illegible] per holding, while in Ghazali area 160 holdings were [illegible] of 160 [illegible] i.e. 0.[illegible] per holding. A comparison of the above figure with the average [illegible] figure of 0.07, 0.06, 0.07 and 0.03 per holding in [illegible] Hills, Shimba, Mbegeni and Lukhegeni [illegible] respectively goes to show that incidence of crop [illegible] in the district is higher than that in [illegible] but low than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table [illegible] of the appendix that in the small holding group (less than 5 acres) average number of [illegible] per holding is 1.30 in Kwale, 1.48 in Project and 0.41 in Ghazali area. The average given in the corresponding holding group being 1.84 acres 1.81 acres and 1.01 acres in these area. Project area and Ghazali area the average size of [illegible] in the respective area works out at 48 acres, 50 and 46 acres. Similarly in will be seen that average area of [illegible] for medium holding group only in Kwale area 1.41 acres (average size of medium holding 6.03 acres) in Project area 1.81 acres (average size of holding 6.48 acres) and in Ghazali area 1.61 acres (average size of holding, 6.60 acres), while the large holding group being 5.01 acres, 5.84 acres and 5.09 acres respectively against the average large holding area of [illegible] acres, 16.20 acres and 16.68 acres in the respective area.

[illegible]

[illegible] 6.1 The operating unit in the rural agricultural system is in most cases the family farm. Functions, [illegible], capital and especially labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely [illegible] farm services are maintained through employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

[illegible] In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family unit or exclusive employment of labour. The family unit or may not have the right of possession occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and on this area the farm is distinguished from holding which comprises of such land and also which the family operated possession right of occupancy and inheritance.